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Ellis, George Edward.
The nation's ballot and its decision: a discourse delivered ... on Sunday, November 13, 1864 ...
Boston, 1864.

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The Nation's Ballot and its Decision:

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN AUSTIN-STREET CHURCH, CAMBRIDGEPORT,
AND IN HARVARD CHURCH, CHARLESTOWN,

On Sunday, Nov. 13, 1864;

Being the Sunday following the Presidential Election.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS.

BOSTON:
WILLIAM V. SPENCER,
134, Washington Street.
1864.

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Acts i. 24, 26: "And they prayed and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen. . . . And they gave forth their lots."

There is a striking contrast between two scenes presented to us in Gospel history, in the record of both of which we read of the casting-of-lots. There is all possible difference between the two applications or meanings of that same phrase in the two incidents. In the one case, an issue was staked on what is called "blind chance;" in the other, on a deliberately solemn expression of a devoutly guided will in forming a judgment. The Roman soldiers, the mechanical officials at the Saviour's cross, when that tragedy was over, "cast lots" for his garment. The eleven apostles, purposing to fill one vacancy in their former fellowship, to preserve the national, traditional sanctity and associations with the number "twelve," gave forth their lots.

In both cases, so far as was visible to the eye, the method of decision was the same. The word "lot" is suggestive to us of an appeal to chance. To cast a lot, to throw, to toss, to stake a venture on the die, are all tokens that men commit to the decision of hap what they will not dispose by intelligence or choice, or the decision of the higher Will. Any tool or implement or test will serve for that use. But when, instead of the word "lot," we use the word "ballot," we begin to discern a difference; and the difference mounts and strengthens, till all thought of an appeal to chance leaves our minds, the more we interpose of human preference, purpose, or will. The rude soldiers on Calvary were entitled to the spoils of

* Reprinted from the "Monthly Religious Magazine."

their victim. Some of the lesser ones they could distribute. The seamless robe, the most coveted, could not be divided, They put to trial in their own way a familiar hazard in their own game of life, when they tossed the sticks or the dice to decide which of them should gain the prize. It would ill-become the winner, if he should wear it. All chance prizes are apt to suggest incongruity in their use.

We can hardly call the other scene a trial by lot. There were no dice there. Chance was excluded from the appeal; and a wise, discerning, and guiding Power above was asked to overrule the decision, not on a throw or by a count, but in the hearts of human arbiters. The eleven apostles selected by name two men standing nearest their own special fellowship, and both alike fulfilling the specific requirements of the case, both alike qualified, both unobjectionable, for exactly the same work and service. They bowed in prayer for God's best guidance in rebuking private partialities, and suggesting any ground, were it but the slightest, for preference. And then, after bowing before God, they signified their choice. For any thing we know, the result of the ballot was perfect unanimity. Such may be the difference between the lot and the ballot. The intervention of the human choice and will is one element of the difference; the recognition of the divine oversight is another.

What is the significance of that trial and decision by the ballot which has just been made by our citizens counted by millions? Would that we could pronounce it to be a complete and infallible decision, on the part of every individual on either side in it, between absolute right and wrong; between full wisdom and blind folly; between sure good and the sum of evils! It would be a convenience, if, in any human controversy or contest, a dividing line were manifestly drawn so straight and sharp and deep, between the conflicting elements which are ever warring in this world with their respective champions. But common experience, to say nothing of charity, forbids us to look in human affairs for such an anticipation of the judgment. Honest and high-souled patriots and Christian men were found on both sides of this

party-issue. Its own complications, and the known qualities of human nature, not only prove, but account for, the fact, that the individual men of the gaining and the losing side are not to be classified by the distinction of righteous or unrighteous, wise or foolish, in their characters and aims. One who sincerely so believes, however, may modestly venture the avowal of his belief, that the result of the great balloting would not have been different, if some shadowy warden of the polls had overmastered the voting so that all the wise and good and righteous had actually voted on one side. But again: we discard the imputation and the claim which would go with such a pretence as a matter of fact. Let there be not only magnanimity, but fair, right admission in the case. Let not the driving-out of what we call one evil spirit bring in seven others. Let us soothe the irritations of the strife among ourselves, and give over opprobrious names, and prevent the suppuration of wounds which may all heal with an unimpaired vigor for the whole body. The honored Chief Magistrate, to whom accrues so high a tribute from the decision, has set a beautiful example of graceful and kindly recognition of right purposes and honest aims in those who did not vote for him. So effective has been that token of a right spirit in him, that not a few who are the subjects of it would be glad now to give him the votes which they cast against him.

But though a balloting among men on great political or party issues does not sharply and completely divide between the champions of wisdom and folly, of good and evil, it does engage and put to trial all the mixed and conflicting measures of those warring elements which are found in each individual man who takes part in it. To one who can read human nature thoroughly and deeply, how easy the solution of marvels and proclivities and variances which to most of us are so baffling! Men make up their minds, they say: they form their opinions: they mature their judgments: and then they pronounce, and act accordingly. There are but few citizen voters who would not resent a denial of this claim on their part. And yet to how many

abatements and qualifications is it justly subject! The most that it can be made to mean is, that a voter, through force of some overbalancing influence, motive, or reason, decides on which of two sides he will dispose himself. The character of the reason, bias, or purpose which controls his decision, may range over the whole scale of good and evil. You only multiply units when you count a million. A ballot on a party-issue, whether cast by tens or millions of men, is but a larger testing and exhibition of all the complicated elements of human nature in each single man. A party, however large, however exalted its professions, must regard itself as falling, proportionately, just so far short of absolute freedom from bias or error, and of absolute infallibility of judgment and principle, as would the best man composing it in his own private capacity. Our whole race has not a vice or a virtue, a passion or an infirmity, a quality of wisdom or of folly, of which each man has not in himself the germ in some stage of its growth and fruitage. Still we understand better the mixed elements and biasses of will and judgment, and the abatements and excesses of the good and the evil of human nature, when brought out in the crowd, than when manifested in an individual.

Yet there is a significance, a moral of an intelligible character, in the result of that huge ballot. Whatever there was at stake in the trial transfers all its import to measure that meaning of the decision as on one side, rather than the other, of the alternative at issue. The voice of the nation, expressing its will and purpose, approves, and therefore proposes to pursue resolutely and at all costs, the military policy which it has already tried for four years. The people must be understood as ratifying, not repenting of, not even murmuring over, or asking to reconsider, a course of which it has had fair experience. The majority is a decisive one; and under its expressive verdict, if the question were tried again this week, it would doubtless be yet larger: so re-assuring is the influence of such a decision on those who make it, while it also has a converting power on many of those who withstood it!

If ever we ascribe to the verdict of men, counted one by one to millions, a significance bearing, if not on the absolute right, yet at least on their convictions of what is right, we can scarce deny or depreciate the weight of that decision now. Those who, after experience of war, resolve to continue it, must, at least, be regarded as more resolute than those who begin a war. All means and efforts were engaged to make the decision an intelligent one, and to bring the elements which entered into it within the comprehension of ordinary minds. The burden which the nation is bearing, and that which it would need to assume, with the sure ratio of its increase and severity, with the consequent vexations and risks, were candidly disclosed. The resources, also, of the nation were deliberately estimated on the basis of its reserved energies, as in part a matter of statistics, and, for the rest, of reasonable hypothesis. Deference was paid to the high standard of common intelligence among the native-born voters, by laying before them, in carefully prepared documents, the materials for unbiassed judgment. The usual artifices of a political campaign were subjected to all the restraints and cautionary measures which are consistent with liberty for both parties. Even the popular harangues were, in general, of a high tone; and only a very few of the public speakers were so far misled by their own ill temper or their selfish aims as to leave recorded against them legitimate reasons, if not for political, at least for social, proscription. The opposition did good service towards insuring the same intelligence of decision, by presenting all the cogent reasons, all the actual obstacles, as well as all the bugbear and fictitious apprehensions, which might warrant its own measures, or qualify the convictions, the purposes, or the zeal of the party in power. There was less than ever before of that inconsistency between our professed reliance upon the intelligence of the masses, and the tricks and cajoleries, the trumpery catch-words and silly devices which address themselves to those who help to fill the net, without being conscious that their destined use is that of bait. If, as is affirmed by those who should know, some hundreds of hired

torch-bearers appeared, for the same fee, in the city processions of both parties, they will have occasion only to remember which party happened to have the pleasanter weather for its night-tramp, and the more rallying creature-comforts for protection against a cold. Those who, in reviewing the struggle, are curious to pursue it into its private and personal partisanships, may employ their ingenuity, with or without their charity, in accounting for the position of this man or that, by a smouldering animosity, or a laid-up grudge from former antagonisms. Nor will individual instances be lacking, to be discussed between the generous and the suspicious, of conversions and avowed convictions and new positions attached to the names of public men.

Such of us as are happily exempted by profession or principle or temperament from the more exciting and passionate experiences connected with such a struggle, may find in it rich materials for quiet thoughtfulness and for profound speculation. On the whole, the occasion was one which we all feel and know is burdened with momentous and near consequences. As it will enter into history, who of us would not be glad, if, in the calm and security of some other scene or age, he might read the matured issues of the nation's balloting and its decision?

From the clustering homes of our northern and western lands, in crowded cities, snug towns, and scattered rural dwellings, have come those whose ballots have wrought this decision. Many of them were cast after prayers as sincere as those which preceded the choice of an apostle. Those ballots were dropped by hands which have been wrung in woe over the desolations of the war made in those thousand homes. The populous metropolis of the land, the centre of all disturbing and dangerous influences, cast a ballot in which some forty thousand majority were counted by the opposition, — coming from foreigners by birth, — as yet unskilled in our highest patriotism, and from exiles, and sympathizers with sedition, resident there. But that local majority was more than neutralized outside the capital, in the rural regions of the State, by its native-born and educated inhabitants. The

voice of the people is *not* the voice of God; but only the voice of God can silence it. And only his will in manifest demonstration can thwart its purpose. Such is the significance of this ballot. It is not the triumph of a divine decree, but it is the ratifying of an intelligent resolution of man.

There was an alternative for choice, — a positive two-sided issue submitted to the people for their ballot. That alternative on the one side was simple; on the other, vague and complicated. On the one side it was this: Shall we pursue our military policy unchanged in method or design or leadership, with the one sole purpose of crushing rebellion, and saving and vindicating the nation? On the other side, the alternative, as presented by a party composed of heterogeneous and discordant elements, was not simple, but compound, confusing, not definable, except by many distinctions and qualifications. To some who espoused the opposition, its aim was hardly distinguishable, except as to leadership, from that which the Government was pursuing, and the people have ratified. But a leading motive or purpose scarcely consists with joint or distracting motives or even wishes not approving its own direct and sole design. And so an opposition which professed only a desire for some change in the conduct of the war entered into fellowship with those who pronounced the war a crime and a failure, hopeless, and therefore to be given over by other efforts for peace.

So incongruous and discordant were the elements of the party in opposition, that, in the event of its political success, it would have found within its own ranks and councils, under some modifications indeed, though essentially the same irreconcilable aims and purposes, and the same differences of opinion as to methods and means which constituted the grounds of its antagonism to the party in power, —now no longer a party. Precisely the same strife which has been convulsing the politics of the nation would have been transferred in a more condensed, but by no means a more tractable, or a less distracting or alarming form, into the sharper

discords of a cabinet and an Administration dictated to by those who might claim to have given them the power. There was really no issue between the two parties, the substance of which was not manifest in the incorporated, but not assimilated, elements of the party in opposition. Of what sort the precipitate from such a combination would have been, even those who compounded it could not reasonably predict. The decision of the nation has adopted the simpler alternative of the issue.

And yet, though the resolve to pursue the war unchanged in councils and in leadership sounds and is simple in its statement, it is one to which many discordant elements contribute, and which is full of perplexities and anxieties in its details. It avows what we purpose to do, and then it throws us back on our ways and means. Its purpose is to put the maintenance of our American National unity foremost in resolve, and in political and military measures and enterprises. The whole soil of the United States of North America is regarded as held in fee by the nation; and all who live on its territory are held in allegiance to its laws and edicts. Under certain just restrictions of right policy and humanity, the question of territorial integrity and unity takes precedence of all others. The purpose is, that the law of the nation shall extend over the whole of it, whatever may befall the inhabitants or the peculiar institutions of any rebellious portion of it, — town or state, individual or confederacy. If people abroad find it difficult to comprehend the idea which underlies this resolution, it may be because it is an American idea nationalized by the American people. We have all learned how dull and slow even our English kinsfolk have been to apprehend this idea of ours. They are beginning, however, to take it in; and their learning it now may save them trouble for the future.

It claims special notice, that, in this stern trial of purely American principles on so broad a field and with such momentous national issues, we should have had a purely American Chief Magistrate. Our President is an indigenous man, the product of our own soil and circumstances, in a

region where the peculiarities of place, of influences, and products are most distinctively characteristic. He is no courtier, no scholar, no trained expert in the manners of academies or drawing-rooms. His features would baffle the moulding skill of classic Grecian art, and perplex the chisel of genius, in fashioning their marble counterpart. Marble would not be the suitable material for their presentment. In vain would the Roman toga attempt to round into easy grace of shape and attitude the angularities of his limbs. The canvas which is to be animate with his portrait must be content to be excluded from all galleries of beauty. Talleyrand would be impressed with the waste rather than with the lack of direct self-committal in his plain-spoken words. He is, indeed, home-born, home-bred, the product of our own soil, and of that, too, beyond the mountain-ridge of the primary deposit. The wits and triflers of the press, and many silly story-tellers, have shown a poor ingenuity in fabricating reports of him and his sayings, designed to heap ridicule on him. His lack of the graces and of the polish of artificial manners, his plain-spoken ways, and his shrewd aptness in blunting impertinent or obtrusive approaches by facetious indifference, make him an easy victim for those skilled in the little arts of malice and slander. But he has already made the mark of character, and won the homage rendered to straight-forward, high-toned integrity. The statesmen and diplomatists of the old world, after taking time to place him and to analyze him, have now discerned the specific cast and genus of the man; and they accord to him an honor which State craft and official dignity by no means imply, even if they consist with it. History is ransacked in vain for a parallel to him, though, in its revolutionary annals, it gives us, in its representative characters, many striking contrasts to him. Destined, we may well believe him to be, to a wide and an exalted fame! A man of a godly and revering frame of heart, ruling his own spirit, unselfish and faithful towards his fellow-men, pure and devoted in ministering the most conspicuous office of government on the whole earth, — such he seems thus far to

have proved himself. And his trial has been sharp and stern. If such as he has been he still shall be, — and there is a pledge of prolonged identity in the man, and of perseverance in the style of his virtues, — then, when he becomes a character of history, to say nothing of the attractions of the picturesque in personal history, or the diagnosis of a marked individuality, — will he not stand among the world's very greatest and very best? How men among us with human hearts can turn him into a jeer, call him a tyrant, malign him as a trimmer or a demagogue, — is not indeed a wonder; for folly in all its shapes is naturalized among us: but it is a sad token of the lack of all manly nobleness and generous sympathy. What cares and burdens, what responsibilities and anxieties, what days and nights are his!

But the choice of a leader is not the disposal of the conflict, nor the solution of the dread perplexities of our future. There is a dim and difficult way before us. The thronging, deepening anxieties of the national struggle appal the hearts of many; and only those of lightest hope and weakest judgment would presume to indicate any near result, or to shape its conditions. The future can be cheered or forecast by us only through the positive assurances and facts which the present gives as encouragement.

In looking on into the future, and conceiving and laboring for any prospect or plan for the solution of the mighty result, there are two sources or grounds of our wise reliance: first, a confident hopefulness of a desirable and a rewarding issue for the conflict; and, second, an intelligent and bold acknowledgement of the many practical difficulties, embarrassments, complications, and tangled conditions of the struggle.

We need first and most the strength and leading of an unwavering, full-freighted hope, true confidence, humble, thoughtful, chastened, as may be, held under allowances for all divine overrulings of our ignorance or our wishes; but still a confident hope, a conviction, that the dread struggle will repay its cost, and be crowned with a triumphant success. Let that hope be seated in our hearts! It will be to us

strength, cheerfulness, solace, and provision under all that lies between us and its full fruition. And the past and the present will furnish warrants for that hope. We have retraced no step, yielded no resolution, depreciated or distrusted no motive, which has thus far guided us. The will and purpose of the people have been declared by ballot. In face of all the known and apprehended exactions of the struggle projected into the undefined future, under the burden of an increasing drain of men and money, of taxation and personal sacrifice, the voice of the people is, that the strife against rebellion should be vigorously pursued, and that the same mind and will and lead which have thus far directed it shall retain the power, skilled by practice, and approved in resolve and aim. A strong and reasonable hope in any enterprise which engages the energies of men centres in the consciousness of ability and purpose within themselves. Have not most of us thought and felt, all along the course of this awful fraternal strife, that, if we have so great a cause to be saved, it must have in itself some self-saving power; a vitality and vigor which will re-enforce us while we are serving it? There must be a virtue, an energy, in our national cause, which has a potency in itself, using us as instruments for its success, for its triumph. This prompting of patriotism as a spirit lying behind and within the inspiration of men and women, not only of armies, but of those who fill them and feed them and pay them, and minister to their wounded, and honor their dead, — this spirit of patriotism is the mightiest weapon of war. Like the sun, it feeds its own flames; and men do not see or know how its unwasted supplies are secretly renewed. We are often reminded in these peaceful, thriving regions, that we do not realize the war. No; nor do we know the resources within us on which we have not yet drawn. Our hope has power and grace behind it.

The question of cost in money, the enormous outlay, the heaping debt, will not impair or chill that hope. Putting all thought of repudiation or national bankruptcy out of view, we can contemplate the possibility, if stern necessity should require, that the great majority of those who hold the pecu-

niary national obligations should, by voluntary proffer and petition to the Government, propose to surrender every money-claim for the sake of the country, for the sake of posterity. And as to men, — men for the camp and field and for the ships, — the men stand behind the ballots which represent the people's purpose one way, to secure its fulfilment in another.

The second ground of our wise reliance is found in a bold and intelligent facing of all the practical difficulties before us. They are many and huge ones. It requires courage to face them in their dim, bewildering vastness and terror. But it would not be wise to attempt to shape them, for they are misty at best; and some of them will never become solid, and others of them will vanish. But we must face many of them as realities, stern and perilous; and we must say to ourselves, as one by one they take shape, this is to be mastered and disposed of. Of one thing we may be certain, as illustrated by personal and universal experience of the relations between foreboded and actual evils, that no more dismal realities can be visited upon us than those which have been made familiar to our apprehensions by the dark predictions of some among us who have opposed the national purpose, or the conduct of the war. Many of us, in the exercise of our best intelligence, settled in our minds the irrevocable decision, that, as failure would be total and permanent ruin to us, all inflictions and calamities short of that were to be regarded as conditions for averting it, and therefore to be submitted to, without halting or even protest. The object which we have in view has steadily become more definite, more dear, and more sacred, as effort and sacrifice have carried us deeper into its vitalities. Our cause has won an element of inexpressible potency for appeal and resolution in the precious and endeared offerings made to it. Its youngest victims stand as our sagest councillors, the purest priests at the nation's altar, the most hopeful prophets of sure triumph. The Christian conscience of the people, without the help of cunning casuistry, but with the full, calm, earnest conviction of a heart-purpose, assures us that a grand

and holy inspiration of humanity overrules all other motives and aims of the war. The majority of our soldiers in field and camp, with heads bared, and faces turned heavenward, may affirm that they are fighting for a cause in which their present foes are to have a full share of good with themselves, and that the sum of blessing to each depends upon our success.

Whether this war shall prove, on the nation's part, to have been a crime or a righteous enterprise, depends upon what is yet to transpire as the way and the terms of peace, and not upon mere reference to its origin, nor upon its method up to this stage of it. If we shall feel bound conscientiously, not from necessity, to close it, yielding the point and the prize of the Rebellion to those who stirred it, then it is now a crime. Our refusal at the first, our delay, our resistance to grant what we shall ever be induced to own was a rightful demand, have been and are unjustifiable. Measured by the scale of loss and woe for which we shall thus be proved culpable, our crime will be marked as of daring and awful heinousness.

So far the conscience of the nation is not pricked by reproach or misgiving. Realizing more profoundly and intensely, as, to our own amazement, we measure the course of the war by years, what horrors of scourge and misery it brings with it, the moment has not been known when the nation's second judgment has doubted whether it were wise or right to have entered upon it.

The whole issue at stake, as it showed its balanced alternative to us, when the match burned down to the powder, has remained unchanged. It was then, and is now, the alternative of a wrecked and ruined nationality, embracing the world's noblest experiment and hope, or of a country saddened, lacerated, humiliated, but purified and re-instated in its lofty distinction, by a struggle which develops and assures its true life. The great Teacher spoke one of his truths of largest compass and of most profound import in the words: "No man can serve two masters." No man can divide the allegiance of his heart. Nor can a nation do that. We have

tried to do it; and we failed. The snakes of discord were hatched in the very cradle of the nation; and they were not strangled there. Whether the human or the reptile antagonist shall retain its life, is the issue which waits decision in our civil war.

It is the greatest of wars, because for the greatest stake that was ever at issue in war. It is, in its conduct on this nation's part, the most humane war that was ever waged on the earth, engaging in us the least of ferocity, of barbarity, of reckless and fiendish cruelty, and the most relieved and chastened by forbearing mercy and thoughtfulness as to every needful measure of severity. Traitors and spies and deserters are leniently dealt with. The first and the most unpitied victims of all other convulsions and wars, they are all but tolerated, not to say, unmolested, among us. Editors of newspapers, and public plotters and declaimers against Government, are allowed a license of free speech and writing; the exceptions to which, in a very few and those not the worst cases, are, by the same tolerance of utterance, represented as instances of the most tyrannical oppression. The prisoners caught from the ranks of the nation's foe are housed and fatted, not for the slaughter, but to offset, when the time shall come to show them, the cadaverous victims from our own households who have been rotting and starving in Southern pest-houses. The angels of mercy, laden with alleviating and luxurious gifts gathered from all the household cupboards of the land, attend, with equal zeal, upon the sufferings of friend and foe. Our people have wrought and adorned the largest and richest frame in which the picture of the Good Samaritan has been or ever can be set.

Meanwhile, it is not in human nature to be satisfied under such circumstances as are now before us and around us, without asking questions, and shaping wishes into anticipations, about the future. What can we reasonably look for as the solution, the method for disposing of the terrible conflict? Our efforts and hopes, taken together, ought to fashion out something like expectations. We read the edicts of the military leaders, the editorial columns of the newspaper-

writers, and the official documents of the political schemers in the region of rebellion. They are full of resolution, of defiance, of boastful assurance, of sworn determination never to yield the ground on which they have planted themselves. Of course, these utterances will be in tone and purport such as we find them to be. For from whom do they come? Many superficial or dismayed readers among us peruse these utterances of the instigators and master-spirits of the Rebellion; and, hastily inferring that they speak the mind and will of a whole people, sadly say, "These tokens do not intimate any repentance, any sense of failure or discouragement, any readiness for conciliation on the part of our foe." Such persons have merely to put the simple question, From whom come these sturdy and defiant boasts and pledges? They can all be traced, as can the first plottings and the dragooning initiatives of the Rebellion, to a fellowship of men not exceeding in number a single score. Of course, they must remain committed to a cause, whose disaster is to them absolute wreck of all earthly aims, with the blot of eternal infamy on their names. So far as human retribution or vengeful penalty awaits them, the councils and courts of the nation will, in all probability, be spared its infliction. It will come upon them, in all the severity of which they will be able to bear it, from the dupes and victims of their own pitiless ambition and misleading falsehoods. There are those among us who say they are waiting for the days of peace, to read what they feel most interest in, — the internal secret history of the war, in the councils and privacies of the rebels. There will, indeed, be startling and confounding disclosures from those sources. But beyond all the woes and tragedies which have been opened to our knowledge as they transpired, will be the harrowing revelations of private, household griefs, of dark atrocities, of outrages and brutal inhumanities incident to the iron-heeled despotism and barbarous passion by which the plotters of the Rebellion have overawed and tyrannized over the people whose glorious heritage and birthright they have sought to sacrifice. It requires no help from the imagination to draw the scenes of agony which have crushed the

hearts, and overborne the patriotism, of hundreds of thousands in Southern homes.

Therefore, the hope of Northern Christian patriots is, that the war will find its end in the protest and rising of the people in the region of the Rebellion against their own leaders. To bring about that righteous result, is the sole purpose of the discomfiture, the sufferings, and the defeat which we expect our army and navy to inflict on the organized forces of the Rebellion. We have assured the Southern people that we are their true friends. They will believe it when they have stricken their own real enemies. That there is, in the heart of our Chief Magistrate, a purpose of magnanimous dealing which he evidently finds it hard to reserve in announcement till the fit moment for it has come, but which will meet the demands of the opportune time, and reconcile the strife, who of us doubts? Shall we not all be satisfied at least to have extended the time for the maturing of the opportunity for such a peace?

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